

CENTRAL INTELLIGENCE AGENCY

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## INFORMATION REPORT

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1. A review of earlier political events in Bulgaria is necessary in order to fully appreciate the importance of the following:
  - a. The return to the Central Committee of the Bulgarian Communist Party of military and civilian personalities who had been excluded from it since the Kostov affair;
  - b. The reintegration to high positions of generals who had been purged because of nationalism or because of Titoist sympathies during the same period;
  - c. The return to favor of certain individuals who until now had been kept in the background; and
  - d. All events of a political nature which have taken place in Bulgaria after the Sixth Congress of the Bulgarian Communist Party.
2. On the eve of the Yugoslav defection in January 1948, the Bulgarian Communist Party Politburo was made up of the following: Georgi Dimitrov, Vasil Kolarov, Traycho Kostov, Vuklo Chervenkov, Dobri Terpeshev, Tsola Dragoycheva, Anton Yugov, Georgi Damyanov, Rayko Damyanov, Vladimir Poptomov, Dimitur Ganev, Petko Kunin, Gocho Grozhev, Dimo Dichev, and Titko Chernokolev. Some of these had emigrated to Moscow after the unsuccessful insurrection of 1923 and returned to Bulgaria in the wake of the Red Army. Among these were Dimitrov, Kolarov, Chervenkov, Georgi Damyanov, and Poptomov. Others had remained in their country and had, during the war, led a politico-military action against the monarchy and against the German troops. Among these were Kostov, Terpeshev, Dragoycheva, Yugov, Rayko Damyanov, Ganev, Kunin, Grozhev, Dichev, and Chernokolev.

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3. Six years later, when the Sixth Congress of the Bulgarian Communist Party was about to open, of the 15 persons listed above, the only ones left in the Politburo were Chervenkov, the Secretary General of the Central Committee and President of the Council of Ministers, Georgi Damyanov, Yugov, and Rayko Damyanov. The last three have diminished in importance, the first because of illness, the second because of the Kostov affair, and the third because of Chervenkov's intervention. Thus becomes evident one of the chief forces behind the Bulgarian political evolution during the last few years: the ambition of Vulko Chervenkov and his ability to get rid of rivals. He had no difficulty with the "Moscovites" since Dimitrov, Kolarov, and Poptomov died. Georgi Damyanov is physically finished. As to the other clique, the defection of Tito made it possible for Chervenkov, in 1949, to get rid of Kostov who barred the half-open door to power which existed because of the failing health of Dimitrov and because of the old age of Kolarov. And, after Kostov, he was able, in succession, to get rid of all the members of the internal resistance.
4. If the present head of the Bulgarian government has succeeded in taking care of this operation, it naturally is because it was in conformity with the wishes of Moscow. Traycho Kostov had known Tito since 1933 and continued to maintain relations with him and fought for a federation of the Slavs of the South, advocated by Dimitrov, but condemned by Stalin. Kostov, as Vice-President of the Council, responsible for economic and financial matters, also opposed the exigencies of the USSR. His trial, from 7 to 14 December 1949, was one against nationalism, Titoism, Yugoslav federalism, and interior resistance, fought, in general, against the man who in 1940 was secretary of the clandestine Central Committee and who had held that position until his arrest by the Royal Police on 29 April 1942 in Sofia.
5. It is of interest to review just who the victims of this intrigue were:
  - a. Dobri Terpeshev, member of the General Staff, then commander in chief of the Communist partisan forces in 1943 and 1944; in January 1950, he was excluded from the Politburo and lost his position as Vice-President of the Council and was appointed Minister of Labor;
  - b. Tsola Dragoycheva, secretary of the Central Committee of the Clandestine Communist Party from 1942, together with Yugov and Ganev; she lost her post in the Politburo in May 1949;
  - c. Anton Yugov, secretary of the Central Committee of the Clandestine Communist Party from 1941 to 1944, with Ganev and Dragoycheva, chief of the military section of the committee, member of the General Staff of the Communist partisans; in 1949 he denied his nationalist tendencies and became the accuser of Kostov; he thus retained a position in the Politburo, but in January 1950 was demoted from Vice-President of the Council to Minister of Industry;
  - d. Dimitur Ganev, protégé of Yugov, with whom he was associated from September 1923; secretary of the Central Committee of the Clandestine Communist Party from 1942, with Yugov and Dragoycheva, political commissar at the headquarters of the Communist partisans and commandant of the operational zone of Varna in 1944; lost his post in the Politburo in May 1949;
  - e. Petko Kunin, political commissar at the headquarters of the Communist partisans in 1943 and 1944; condemned to 15 years in prison in May 1951;
  - f. Gocho Grozev, deputy political commissar in a divisional command of the Communist partisans in 1943 and 1944; excluded from the Central Committee of the Bulgarian Communist Party in January 1950;
  - g. Dimo Dichev, member of the headquarters of the Communist partisans in 1941, political commissar and delegate of the Central Committee in the operational zone of Vratsa from 1942 to 1944; lost his post in the Politburo in May 1949;

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h. Titko Chernokolev, delegate of the Central Committee in the Sixth Zone of Operations in 1943 and 1944; Minister of Agriculture, he was dismissed in June 1951 following the peasant uprisings in May; at the same time he was removed from the Politburo.

6. In the wake of these, the purge was to spread in 1950 and 1951 to all the former Communist partisan adversaries and other adversaries (particularly the first) of the policy of Chervenkov, who was the faithful agent of the wishes of Moscow. It was then that the following were released from the Army and excluded from the Central Committee, or were arrested: General Ivan Kinov, Chief of Staff; General Boyan Bulgaranov, Political Director of the Army; General Ivan Buchvarov, deputy commander of the Military School; General Slavcho Trunski, commander of 3 Army; General Boris Kopchev, commander of 2 Infantry Division--to list only the chief military personalities concerning whom there has been talk of late. General Yanko Panov, commander of the Border Guards, was not in disgrace until 1953.

7. Those who were defeated in 1949 now occupy, for the most part, only secondary positions. Terpeshev, 70 years old, is president of DOSO; Dragoycheva is Minister of the PTT; Ganev is second secretary of the Central Committee; Grozev is only a member of the Central Committee; Dichev is president of the Committee for State Control. No more word has been had concerning Kunin or Chernokolev. As to the military men, even if they have all been reintegrated in the Central Committee (except for Kopchev), Buchvarov, Chief of Staff, is the only one to exercise an important position, but he is like a puppet with no will of his own.

8. On the other hand, Yugov, returned in August 1952 to the vice-presidency of the Council of Ministers and now occupies a choice position in the Politburo to which he was elected on 4 May 1954. Already a rival of Chervenkov's in 1949, he is still a dangerous adversary, though he is hated in all Bulgaria because of the blood with which he covered himself as Minister of Interior after the Communists came to power in 1946.

9. The personal position of Vulko Chervenkov has become rather delicate. In order to replace those who had disappeared from the Politburo and the Secretariat of the Central Committee of the Bulgarian Communist Party he had to appoint men who had been in the interior resistance, by far the most numerous and the youngest. The President of the Council has thus an important clique against him. The entire secretariat is here: Todor Zhivkov; Kruchev; Ganev, eliminated from the Politburo in May 1949 and again in March 1954; and Boris Taskov, who, because of continuous disputes with General Ivan Mikhaylov, was dismissed from the Presidency of the "Food and State Reserves" Administration in May 1952. In the Politburo, the clique includes Yugov and Zhivko Dzhivkov, mentioned above; Rayko Damyanov, washed out after the Delyana affair; Georgi Chankov, member of the Clandestine Politburo in March 1944, an ally of Yugov's; and Staykov and Prakhov, recent arrivals on the scene.

10. The return of the former partisans has been attributed to two reasons: a need for appeasing the opposition at a time when the economic situation of the country was in a poor state, and a maneuver of reconciliation with Belgrade. Both of these have a bearing on the position of Chervenkov. A faithful servant and imitator of the Stalinian severity, he is the one who is chiefly responsible for all the errors committed in economic matters since he came to power as President of the Council in January 1950, and he is the champion of anti-Tito policy.

11. Stalin is dead and Malenkov now rules in a very different manner. Can Chervenkov succeed himself? It appears that if it is already difficult for him to remain, in order to carry out a liberal policy, at the head of men whom he has more or less persecuted, he constitutes, by his very presence, a major obstacle to attempts to seduce Yugoslavia. However, his removal would seriously weaken the party of Moscow. He is the brother-in-law of Dimitrov. He is young, supple, capable, and relatively popular. He is used to his position. It would be dangerous for the USSR to eliminate her best agent in Bulgaria in order to take a chance on an enterprise the outcome of which is most uncertain.

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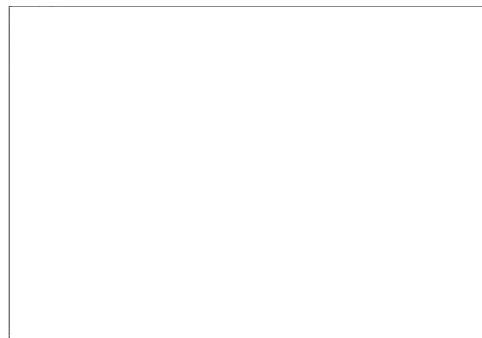
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[redacted] **Comment:** It is realized that the above report is an analysis of the political situation in Bulgaria and that it contains certain inaccuracies. It is, however, being disseminated in toto for any use it may have as general background knowledge on Bulgarian politics and political personalities.



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